

**MARBURGER**  
**WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM**  
**2020–2022**

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Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg



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Rita Amedick, Heide Froning und Winfried Held

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## The Theater-Temple at Tlos: An Oracle Center of Apollo

### ABSTRACT

Tlos theater exhibits a holistic plan with its two-storey cavea arrangement, the stage building with the scaenae frons and its monumental parodos. The temple structure built on the middle axis of the summa cavea makes the theater even more exclusive. In the 2021 excavation season, the ruined blocks of this temple were removed and a doric order structure with templum in-antis plan was unearthed. Although the surviving architectural flooring of the theater at Tlos carries the characteristics of the Roman Period, it has been documented that the building was first constructed in the Hellenistic Period and was maintained in use, with modifications and repairs, until late antiquity. It is thought that the temple was built during the major repair phase of the theater in the Augustan Period. According to inscriptions found during the excavations the theater temple was also used for a long time as an oracle center.

### ÖZET

Tlos Tiyatrosu iki katlı cavea düzenlemesi, görkemli scaenae fronsa sahip sahne binası ve anıtsal parodoslarıyla bütüncül bir plan sergilemektedir. Summa caveanın orta aksında inşa edilmiş tapınak yapısı tiyatroyu daha da ayrıcalıklı kılmaktadır. 2021 yılı kazı sezonunda sözkonusu tapınağın yıkıntı blokları kaldırılmış ve dor düzeninde templum in-antis planlı bir yapı açığa çıkartılmıştır. Tlos tiyatrosunun günümüze ulaşan mimari döşemi Roma Dönemi özellikleri taşımakla birlikte yapının ilk kez Hellenistik Dönem’de inşa edildiği, tadilat ve tamiratlarla geç antik çağa kadar kesintisiz bir şekilde kullanıldığı belgelenmiştir. Tiyatronun Augustus Dönemi’ndeki büyük tamirat evresinde tapınağın da inşa edildiği düşünülmektedir. Kazılar esnasında ele geçen yazıtlara göre tiyatro tapınağı uzunca bir süre kehanet merkezi olarak da kullanılmıştır.

### Introduction

It has been seen that a great change was experienced during the Hellenistic Period in the understanding of urbanism at the ancient city of Tlos, one of the important settlements of the Lycian Region, and, in consequence, a new city plan that expanded around an agora located in the center was adopted<sup>1</sup>. Monumental public buildings having different architectural forms according to their functions were also arranged within this plan. The theater<sup>2</sup>, one of the important public buildings of Tlos, leaned against the hillside bordering the city center on its eastern side and its direction was towards the acropolis rock, which was the symbol of the city (fig. 1).

The theater exhibits a holistic plan with its two-storey cavea arrangement, the stage building with the scaenae frons and its monumental parodos providing passage to the building in north-south directions. The walls surrounding the theater from the outside, and in their interior, the spatial arrangements created under the cavea add an additional monumentality to the building. Other than these, a temple built right in the middle of the summa cavea from the upper level makes the theater even more exclusive structure (figs. 1–2). The opportunity for obtaining a comprehensive evaluation from the architectural building elements<sup>3</sup> localized *in situ* at the temple occurred when the excavation works were completed (fig. 3–4).

### Architectural Description

The temple, which was built in the Doric order and in the form of templum in-antis, consists of a pronaos at the front and a naos at the back (figs. 4–5). The pronaos forming the front facade of the temple was emphasized by two anta extensions and two columns placed between those. Pilasters were used as bearers articulating the corners. The facade of the theater temple, measuring 12,04x7,20 m, shows the temple faces east. Only the first two rows of the blocks of the temple walls, which were localized in a ruined state, were preserved *in situ*.

\* We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Recai Tekoğlu for translating the Greek inscriptions from the theater-temple. Additionally, our thanks also go to O. Uygur Usanmaz and Hikmet Kılınçoğlu for drawings and support during the various stages of this work.

1 Korkut 2018.

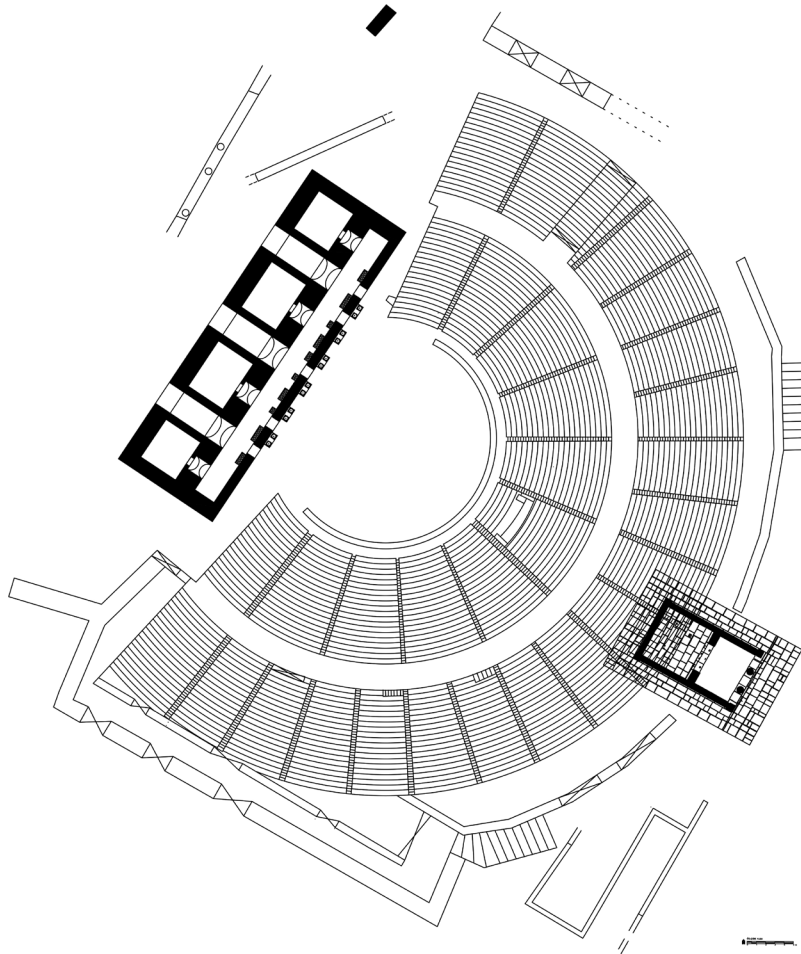
2 For the details on the Theater at Tlos, see Korkut – Özdemir 2019.

3 A significant part of the architectural building elements were found intact, and the restitution drawings used in this study largely coincide with the original texture of the temple.





*Fig. 1: The Theater of Tlos*



*Fig. 2: The Plan of the Tlos theater*



Fig. 3: The theater temple before excavation



Fig. 4: The theater temple after excavation

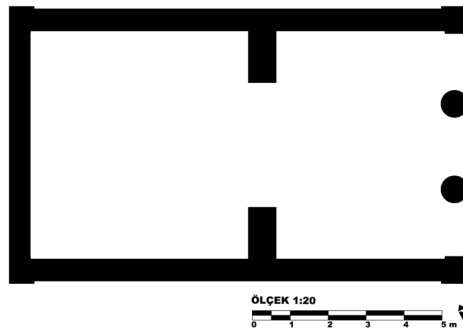


Fig. 5: Plan of the theater temple

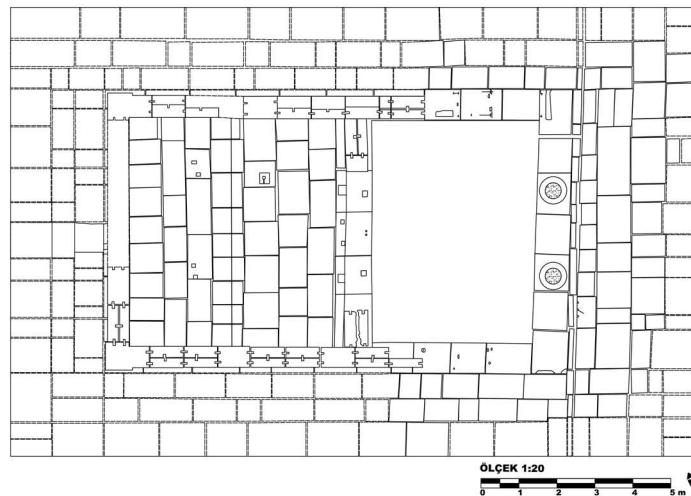


Fig. 6: Present drawing of theater temple

The wall row, approximately 57 cm thick, was built intermittently for static reasons, using two halves and a single block (fig. 6). This practice, which started in the corner pilasters, was arranged as a half block in the first two rows, then followed by a single block. In the grid system consisting of a single block, the wall blocks were neatly smoothed inside and out. In places where two half-blocks were used, the interiors of the blocks that merged were left in a rough state. There was no painting or plastic application to the block surfaces. No filling mortar was used between the wall blocks. The blocks were attached to each other with two-row clamps from both directions. The clamp forms are of the »dovetail« type and differ in their size. The clamp molds were also recovered during the excavation of the temple. The lengths of the wall blocks vary. The lengths of the blocks used in the north and south walls are in the range of 87–90 cm. Whereas the wall blocks in the east and west walls are 93–96 cm long. The pilaster blocks used at the corners measure of 117 x 72 cm at floor level. In addition, the pilaster profiles protruded from the wall surfaces to the exterior. The differences detected in the length of the wall blocks were also observed in their height as well. The height of the first row of the walls of the temple, standing *in situ*, was measured, 65 cm. Although the length did not change in the second wall row, the block height was reduced to 56 cm. It is understood from the 40–52 cm high blocks found in the temple ruins that the height of the blocks was reduced even further from the third wall row upwards.

The naos section in the western direction of the temple remained entirely inside of the cavea (figs. 2.4). The analemma walls of the theater were joined to the naos walls from the north and south directions. The pronaos section of the temple is outside of the analemma wall border. The doorsill that provides the transition to the naos is approximately at the same alignment with the analemma walls (fig. 7). The naos section measuring 5,95 x 5,60 m was built on a floor made of cut stone blocks of different sizes (fig. 6). A pedestal measuring 25 x 25 cm, carved on a floor block, is located just to the right of the naos entrance. In the middle of the pedestal, a mortise hole and a lead pouring canal that opens to it from the outside are visible. Most likely, a small altar was located on this pedestal. The naos space was divided into two by a scraped line near the middle, and a special adyton-like area measuring 5,95 x 2,72 m was created in the part located to the west. In the exact middle of this area, it is estimated from the mortise holes carved in groups of two that a wooden platform was placed there. These mortise holes in the floor would have been used to support the wooden platform.

Due to the installation of this wooden platform, the wooden joints on the inward facing surfaces of the building walls in the north and south directions were slightly shaved and a beam hole, one each was opened reciprocally at the joints of the wall block.

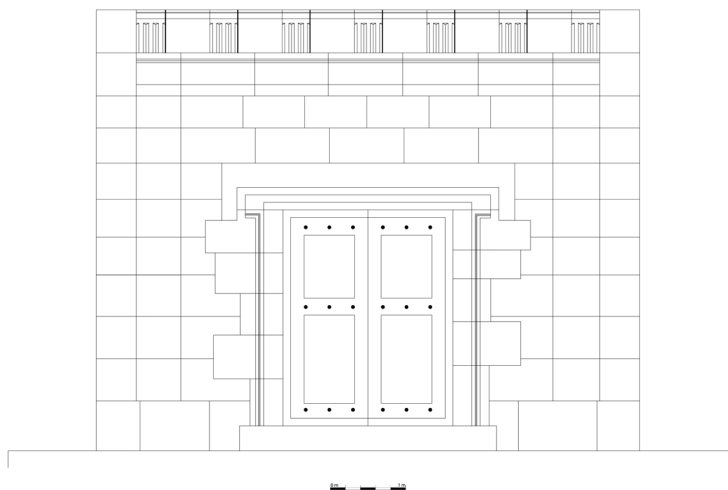
The door providing passage to the naos was quite magnificent (fig. 8). The opening of the double-leaf door measures 2,25 x 2,85 m. whereas the outer measures of the door were determined to be 3,17 x 3,48 m. From the mortises on the doorsill, it is understood that, a recessed, that is, sheltered, door model that opens inward was preferred here. The thickness of the door measured 58 cm. This measure is also compatible with the thickness of all the door jambs. There exist anta projections in the length of 1,35 m right and left on the north and south directions of the gate. It is seen from the traces on the pronaos-facing surfaces of the doorsill, created from three different blocks side by side with a height of 38 cm, that an entrance was provided from the pronaos floor with a staircase. However, this staircase arrangement has not survived to the present day.

The flooring of the pronaos section in the east direction of the temple is missing (figs. 4.6.7). In the interior, there is today only a layer of earth fill. However, the fact that the interior of the floor blocks surrounding the pronaos were roughly shaved, as well as the traces for the staircase arrangement in front of the door providing passage to the naos indicate that the pronaos floor blocks had been dismantled in later periods. Meanwhile, the staircases providing entrance to the naos were also removed. The measures of the pronaos section that was shaped in a rectangular form are not symmetrical. The east and west walls of the pronaos are equal in the length at around 5,95 m. On the other hand, the length of the north wall narrowed to 4,41 m and the length of the south wall to 4,20 m. Although the cause for the different measures in the pronaos is not known exactly, it is believed to have been linked with the dismantling of the existing floor blocks in later periods.

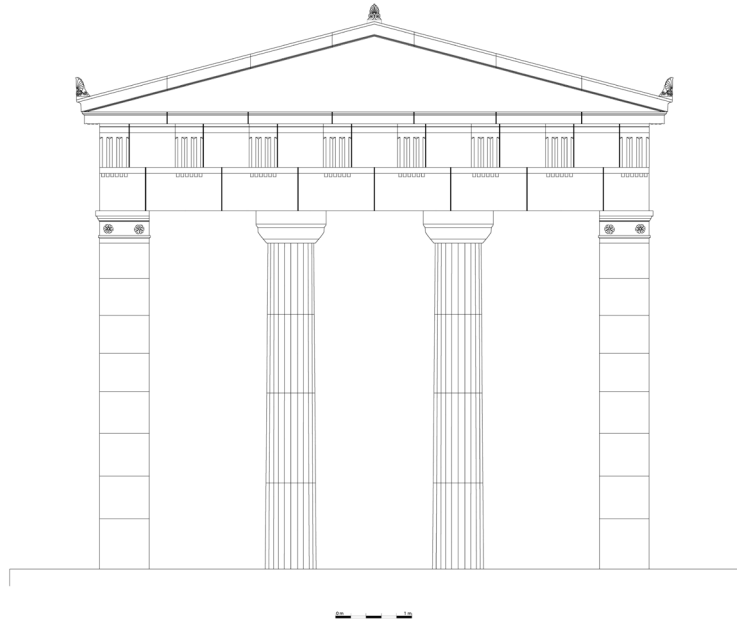
The temple walls were bounded by pilasters at the corners of the east side, as in the west side (figs. 9–10). The bases of the pilasters were determined in a ruined condition and are today not in their original places, as they were removed during the excavations and relocated to the stone yard. However, their locations were easily determined from the traces on the floor. Of the pilaster capitals in the east, only the example in the northeast corner was recovered. The surfaces in the north and east directions of the block, which is 42,5 cm high and carved as a single piece with corner turns, were decorated with two leaf rosettes (fig. 11). Only the first of the leaf rosettes on the south side of the capital was completed.



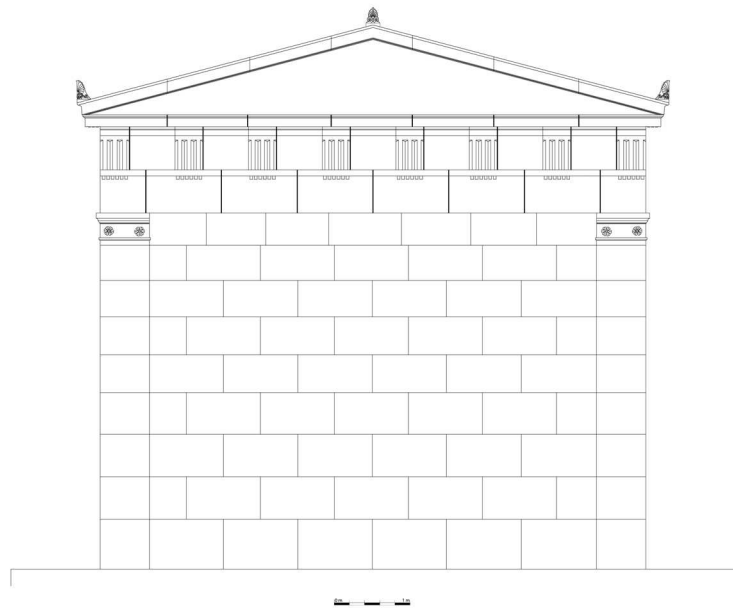
*Fig. 7: View from the pronaos to the naos*



*Fig. 8: Restitution drawing of naos door*



*Fig. 9: Restitution drawing of east facade*



*Fig. 10: Restitution drawing of west facade*

The second rosette was left half complete, like a round medallion. In the west, only one of the pilaster capitals was recovered. This capital, which is understood to belong to the pilaster in the northwest corner, was decorated with two leaf rosettes, as in the east. In consequence, it is thought that similar pilaster capitals arrangements were repeated in the southeast and southwest corners of the temple. However, these pilaster capitals were not found during the excavations.

Between the pilaster arrangement in the east direction of the temple, two fluted columns were located directly opposite the door providing passage into the naos (fig. 9). It was observed that the part of 41 cm radius of the area where the columns were set in place was roughly shaved. The fluted columns, each consisting of four different drums, were found in a ruined condition. The distance between the columns was measured as 1,50 m. The distance between these columns in the middle and the pilaster bases at the corners was similarly designed to be 1,50 m.

There exists a 33 cm thick platform made of cut stone blocks in front of the pronaos section (figs. 4.6). The corridors in the north and south directions of the cavea provided access to this arrangement in front of the temple. The floor blocks on which the north and south walls of the temple were placed were slightly raised above the others. In this way, the impression of a stylobate arrangement was provided on top of the podium. Since the stone floor on which the naos section of the temple sits and the level of the podium are the same, it is understood that the whole of the temple rises on this platform. Of these platform blocks, three rows in the north and south directions and four in the east direction have survived to the present day (fig. 7). The whole platform was later covered with seating rows added in later periods in the west direction.

On the east side of the temple, at the end of the floor blocks upon which the columns are located, there is a canal arrangement formed in a north-south direction (fig. 7). The width of the canal, whose depth varies in the range of 7–10 cm, was measured between 13 and 18 cm. In addition, this canal was also connected with the pronaos by shaving the edge of the floor block between the pilaster in the northeast corner of the temple and the first column in the form of a canal. The difference in the workmanship between both canals suggests that this connection process was done at a later date.

The canal extending in the north-south direction on the platform is of better quality than the other. A similar canal arrangement collocated in the east-west direction was found on the podium floor in the west direction of the temple. The fact that there is no discrepancy in the starting and ending points of these canals and that they open directly to the outside, indicates they were built to prevent rainwater from entering the temple<sup>4</sup>.

There is a mortise hole and a lead pouring channel on the floor block located just to the west part of the pilaster base in the southeast corner of the temple. Besides, it is also seen that the surface of the block was roughly carved in the diameter of 56 cm. It is estimated from the mentioned arrangements that a cylindrical altar was fixed in this area. However, no such altar was found during the excavations. It is highly likely that this altar was dismantled and removed in later periods.

The architectural blocks belonging to the temple walls and the entablature blocks forming the superstructure were documented on site and relocated to the stone yard. During that time, a large part of the architectural building elements of the temple were able to be classified. Only the lintel of the entrance door of the temple, as well as the three drums of one of the columns in front and the Doric type column capital belonging to the both columns were not found. Other than these, some part of the pilaster blocks in the east, as well as the corner pilaster capitals in the south are missing. These missing pieces would have been moved to another place or turned into rubble on site in the course of the construction of the city in the medieval period.

The only fully surviving column of the temple in the Doric order was formed from four drums, the diameters of which narrowed upwards (fig. 12). These column drums were enlivened with 20 ionic flutes, and the arris parts of the concave-curved flutes were given as straight bands<sup>5</sup>. The diameters of the column drums vary from the bottom to top in the range of 73–68 cm, 68–65 cm, 65–63 cm and 63–60 cm, respectively. On the other hand, in the drums with the length of 93, 103, 113 and 118 cm, the height of the column was completed as 4,27 m. The doric column capitals lost from the pilaster capitals at the corners are estimated to be 42,5 cm high. Thus, the height from the floor to the beginning of the architrave reaches 4,70 m. All the column drums were attached to each other with dowels.

4 No data could be found on the religious use of these canal arrangements.

5 For Ionic column flutes, see Vitruvius III 5, 12.

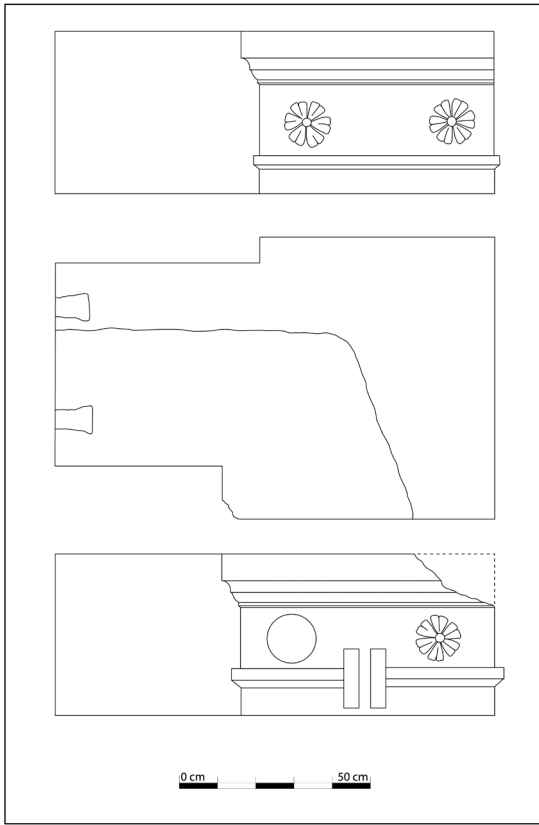


Fig. 11: Drawings of the pilaster



Fig. 12: Doric column drum

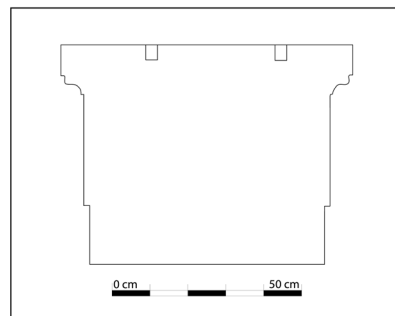
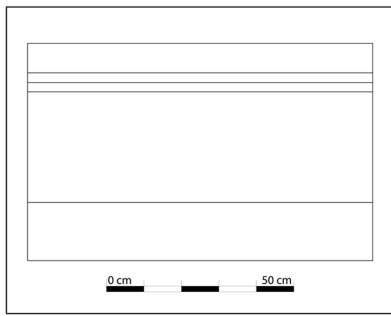


Fig. 13a, b: The section and view drawings of the architrave block of the naos facade

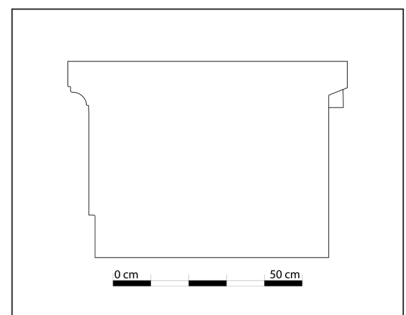
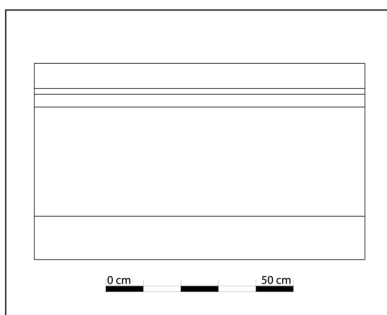
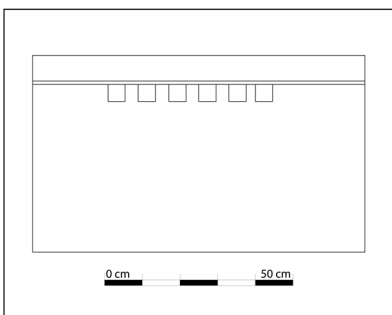


Fig. 14a-c: The section and view drawings of the architrave block of outer facade

The only place without any dowel application was the floor part of the column drum at its base. It was understood from the mortise on the upper surface of the column drum located uppermost that the column capital was also fixed with dowels. Only the last column drum of the second column used in the east direction of the temple has survived, broken to the present day. It was observed that this column drum with the length of 96 cm also ended in a diameter of 60 cm, as the other one.

The architrave blocks, placed on the level of the wall above the columns in the middle by the pilaster heads in the corners, were about 58 cm in height and carved in two different ways. The first group of architrave blocks were layered with a fascia from their lower parts, and this arrangement was repeated inside and out (figs. 13a, b). It is known that a total of five of such architrave blocks recovered are used on the anta wall as an extension of the anta pilasters (fig. 8). The inner surface of the architrave blocks in the second group was also similarly layered with a fascia. However, the outer surfaces of these architrave blocks were neatly smoothed, and their upper parts were decorated with the guttae motif, which is a continuation of the triglyphs (figs. 14a–c). No regulae were included on the architrave blocks. The round-shaped guttae dangled directly from the taenia arrangement. It was determined that there were different applications in conjunction with the arrangement of triglyph-metope blocks in the guttae carved in sets of six on the architrave blocks (fig. 15).

The guttus was generally carved at the places near the middle of the blocks. In some examples, the guttus row was located on the right or left corner of the architrave block. Although the guttae motif on certain architrave blocks was carved in one corner, the guttae, which are the continuation of the other architrave block, were shown in the other corner. In addition to these, the two-sided guttae row was used in the corner architraves placed on the long and narrow sides of the temple, which are distinguished from the others by their length of 120 cm. The length of the architrave blocks arranged on both sides varies between 92 and 99 cm. Whereas the normal architrave blocks on which the guttae motif was carved have a length of about 90–100 cm. The gap between the guttae rows given as two different clusters on the same architrave block was measured as 60 cm. The architrave blocks in the places corresponding to the beginning parts of the antae were arranged in the form of pilaster in the interior. The surfaces that remained outside and were used as an architrave block were enlivened with the guttae motif, as with the others.

Any architrave block with longer dimensions was not recovered during the excavations, except for the 120 cm long architrave blocks used in the corners of the temple. In this way, the length of the architrave block used on the walls, excluding the corners, was not kept above 100 cm<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, at the beginning of the entablature on the eastern facade of the temple, a special architectural technique, which is not well known from other temples, was used.

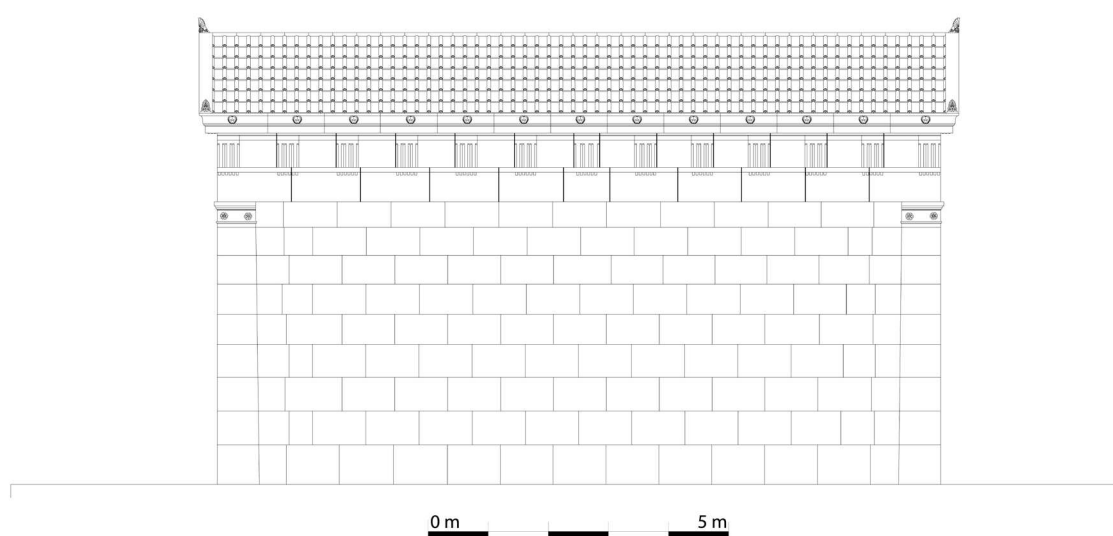


Fig. 15: Restitution drawing of southern facade of theater temple

6 In general, there is a similarity in all the block measures used in the entablature part of the temple.



Here, two architrave blocks were placed between the columns in the middle and the pilasters in the corners. The blocks in question were seated on the carriers from the north and south directions. On the other hand, there was not any carrier in the middle. It was ensured that both architrave blocks leaned against one another in the form of a keystone technique in this section. This application, the static reliability of which is controversial, is in fact not limited to the eastern facade of the temple. The arches on each three doors opening to the agora from the ground floor of the stage building of the theater were arranged horizontally in a similar technique (figs. 16a. b). The fact that these arches, which can carry the weight of the three-storey stage building, have survived intact to the present day supports the accuracy of the restitution of the eastern facade of the temple.

On top of the architrave rows, triglyph-metope blocks of a height of 58 cm were placed similarly (figs. 17a–c). The glyphs, the upper parts of which are cut flat, were carved in the form of triangles. Each triglyph was created of two half glyphs, two whole in the middle and one each on the sides. The ears, which are customary in the half-glyphs, were not included here. The triglyph-metope blocks have an average length of about 80–95 cm. The triglyphs and metopes were generally carved side by side. Only triglyph decorations were included on two separate 43 cm long blocks on the outer parts of the antae remained on the long faces (fig. 15). There was insufficient place for the metope surface on these blocks. With this arrangement, a potential problem in the triglyph placement system must have been resolved. The triglyphs on blocks were usually carved at the right or left corners. An example where the triglyph was carved in the middle of the block was not found. The metope surface is almost one and a half times the length of the triglyphs. The metope sections on the triglyph blocks were left blank and no reliefs were introduced. In addition, no traces of painting were observed. The metope measures on the blocks also differ, in connection with the length of the triglyph block. The lengths of the triglyphs vary between 37 and 40 cm. However, it was understood as a result of the detailed observations carried out that the distance between two triglyphs was a total of 60 cm. This measure is also compatible with the space between the two guttae rows on the architrave blocks. The blocks used in the corners of the temple begin with a triglyph motif in both directions.

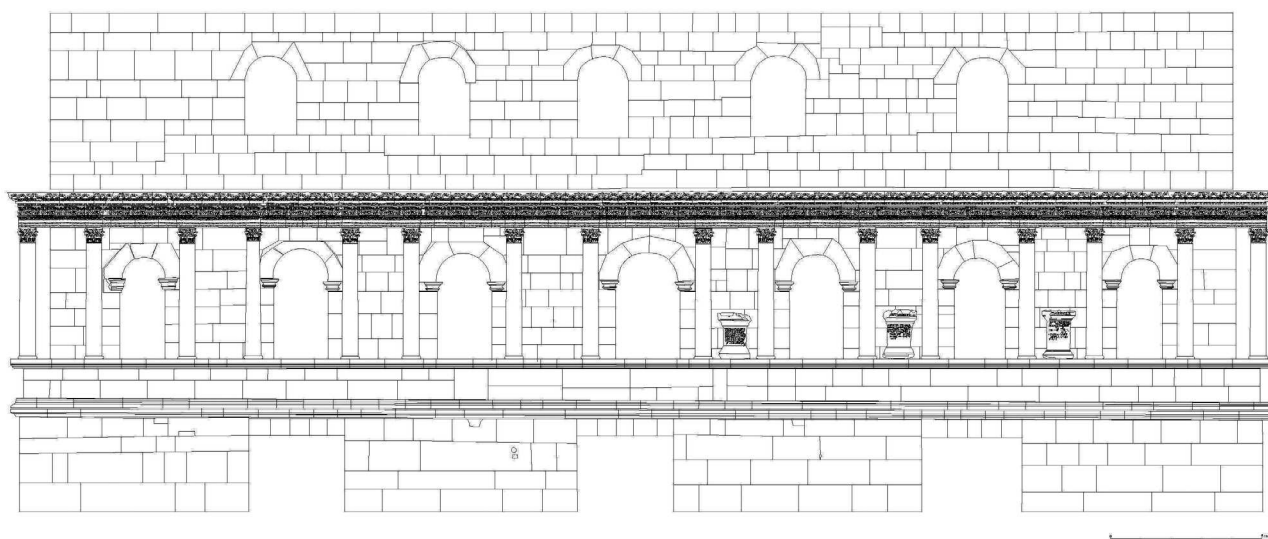
There is a metope section in the continuation on the long sides of the same block. On the narrow faces, only the metope blocks with the same profile characteristics were used. Thus, the standard distance between the both triglyphs was maintained on the narrow faces. The lateral surfaces and back parts of the triglyph blocks that joined with the other blocks were roughly carved.

The uppermost border of the entablature section is formed by the 35 cm high geison-sima block (cornice) rows (fig. 18). The back sections of the geison-sima blocks with the varying depths of 90–95 cm, were roughly ended due to the roof. The blocks were enlivened with a triple fascia in the middle, and, in addition, there were lion-head gargoyles on the sima section. The gargoyles were formed in the middle part of the blocks. The geison-sima blocks with gargoyles were used only on the long faces in the north and south directions. The gargoyles were not included on the narrow faces where there were the pediments.

The surfaces of the geison blocks seen from the bottom were decorated with a mutuli formed with the triple guttae (figs. 19a. b). As a rule, the mutuli plates were not included in the geisons. The guttae were dangled directly from the bottom of the geison blocks. The widths of the viae were kept even. The mutuli was bounded by a concave fascia from the directions of the drip groove and geison soffit. The diameters of the guttae on the long faces are around 3 cm, and a gap of 3 cm was left between each guttus motif. The guttae under the pediments on the narrow faces are 4 cm in diameter and the spaces between them were narrowed down to around 2 cm. The mutuli were usually formed from the six-row guttae arrangement. Seven-row guttae were preferred only on the pediment in the west direction. Different applications are seen in the arrangement of the mutuli on the geison blocks on the long faces. For example, the six-row guttae were carved only in the middle part of some geison blocks. The corners of these blocks ended with three rows of guttae, to the left and right. The mutuli in these examples were continued on the blocks on the side. It was also documented that some of the block surfaces were completed with the six-row guttae, given as two separate friezes. In conclusion, it was understood that different variations were tried in the mutuli applications. However, the mutuli arrangement consisting of the six-row guttae was never given up. This, because the geison blocks protruded by about 15 cm, and, from below the mutuli was visible.



*Fig. 16a: The southern straight arch door of stage building*



*Fig. 16b: Restitution drawing of the east facade of stage building*

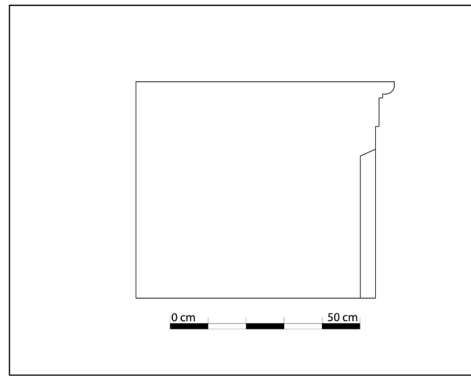
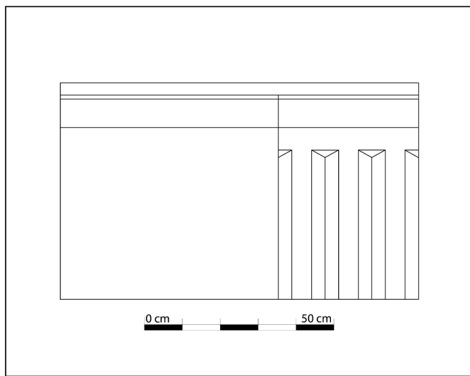


Fig. 17a. b: Section and view drawing of trichypb-metope block

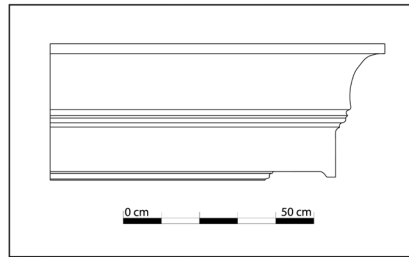


Fig. 18: Detail profiles of geison

Fig. 17c: Trichypb-Metope block

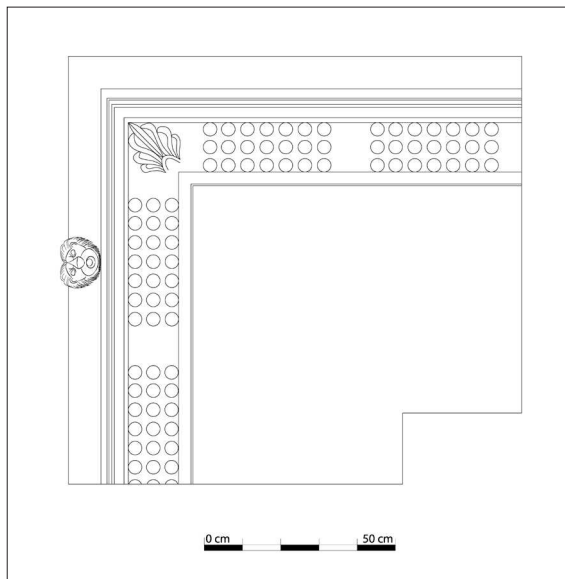


Fig. 19a: The mutuli, palmette and gargoyle on the west pediment at north corner

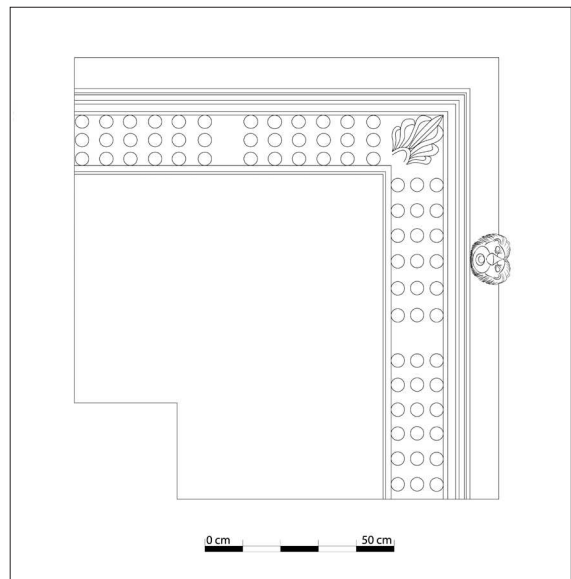


Fig. 19b: The mutuli, palmette and gargoyle on the east pediment at north corner

The pediment of the temple in both directions was formed equal parts with the corners and the blocks used in the middle (figs. 9–10). The middle part of the pediment was arranged in the form of a keystone with a height of 50 cm (fig. 20). The height of the pediment including the geison and sima is about 134 cm. Whereas its depth is about 123 cm. There was no relief included on the interior of the pediment (tympanon), surrounded by a triple fascia. However, there are small podiums created for the installation of an acroter on the upper and the corners of the pediment. Since the acroters have not survived to the present day, their exact forms are not known. From the height of the columns and pilasters in the front, as well as the measures of the entablature section, it was understood that the temple was from the surface of the stylobate approximately 7,18 m high.

A large number of tiles connected with the roof arrangement of the temple were also identified (figs. 15, 21). Some of the tiles that have survived to the present day in broken pieces are in a condition that can be completed. From the examples recovered *in situ* among the temple ruins, it was understood that Corinthian type strotter and calypter tiles covering them from the joints were employed in the building<sup>7</sup>. Other than these, examples of ridge tiles used for the peak point of the roof were also found. The surfaces of the tiles, understood to have been made of local clay, were generally left flat. No traces of painting were found either. The scraped lines exist only on the surfaces of the strotters, and they must have been deliberately made in relation with the thickness of the tile.

The door providing entrance to the naos was formed by placing a large number of jamb blocks, whose heights vary between 53 and 80 cm, on top of each other (fig. 8). In addition, the lengths of the jambs differ within the range of 48–93 cm depending on the block joints on the side walls. On the other hand, the length of 103 cm and the height of 54 cm of the last two jamb blocks forming the uppermost course are the same. Besides, the blocks at the very bottom were determined to be 48 cm long from the anathyrosis traces on the doorsill. The distance between the arrangement in the appearance of the door frame on the jambs and the door entrance was left as 36 cm. The outward-facing edge of the profile was arranged in the form of a flat molding, and, the inward-facing part in the form of a cyma reversa created from the trochilus (fig. 22).

The area between them was emphasized by a thin fascia. The cyma reversa arrangement on the door profile was directed towards the interior of the door from both directions. It is understood from the profile arrangement on the jamb blocks that each door jamb was formed with a total of 5 blocks. The door frame processing located on the jamb blocks used in the uppermost course indicates that the door profile also continued on the lintel. However, from the fact that the profiles further prospered by rotating outwards here, it is understood that the front face of the lintel on top was also arranged in the form of a hyperthyron. Such architectural arrangement is seen more commonly in Ionian-type doors<sup>8</sup>. However, the consoles that are characteristic for Ionic type doors were not included here. While the Doric type door form, showing harmony with the architectural arrangement of the temple was employed<sup>9</sup>.

A similar entablature arrangement as on the outer walls of the temple was preferred on the front facade wall of the naos (fig. 8). According to that, 58 cm high triglyph-metope frieze blocks were located uppermost of the naos facade. In the lower part of these, the architrave blocks, whose both sides were enlivened with a fascia, were employed. Since the back faces of the architrave blocks with the same height were visible from the naos, such an application was made. The architrave blocks in question were used as an extension of the anta pilasters at the same time. The back parts of the triglyph-metope blocks used on the outer surface of the temple were left rough since they were not visible. On the other hand, the back parts of the triglyph-metope blocks used in the naos wall were neatly smoothed as in the architrave blocks. However, the guttae, which were the continuation of the triglyphs on the outer surfaces, were not carved in the architrave blocks used on the naos wall. The front facade of the naos measured 5,84 m.

The secret of the theater temple's standing for many years can be explained by the fact that its architectural flooring is of a similar technique to the contemporary buildings. However, examination of the infrastructure of the temple revealed a different construction system was preferred here. First of all, there is no euthynteria and stereobate arrangement on the floor of the temple. Other than this, the crepises providing entrance to the temple were not also included and the temple walls rose directly from the stone platform floor (figs. 7, 15).

7 For the use of the Corinthian type flat tiles on Early Roman roofs, see Özyiğit 1988, 101–118.

8 For the Ionic type doors, see Vitruvius, IV 6, 1–6.

9 For the Doric type doors see Vitruvius, IV 6, 1–2.



Fig. 20: The middle part of the west pediment



Fig. 21: Examples of tiles

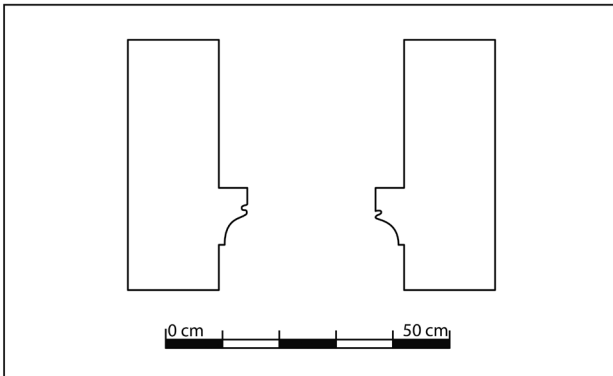


Fig. 22: Drawing of doorjamb profile

The platform floor at the same time served as the stylobate of the temple (fig. 23). On this platform, which was specially prepared for the temple, the traces of wall mesh were also created. All the architectural blocks of the temple were attached to each other by clamps. But no clamps were placed between the blocks at the stylobate level with the ground<sup>10</sup>. This construction technique, making the building vulnerable to earthquakes, the attempt was made to strengthen it through different anathyrosis applications. For this reason, the anathyrosis applications performed on the platform floor show a large degree of irregularity. From the stylobate level, white colored limestone was used in all the building blocks of the temple. The stone platform floor was produced by cutting the local conglomerate stone.

During the excavations made to the west of the temple, it was determined that the stone platform under the ground blocks of the temple continued for approximately 2,60 m in the westerly direction and ended there at a wall under the rows of the cavea seats (figs. 23–24). This wall was constructed using the conglomerate stone, similar to that of the floor platform, is approximately 12 m long on a north-south axis. The platform in front of the temple was bounded by the walls extending 18 m towards the east. The analemna walls revised in the later repair phases of the theater were sat upon this floor platform from the sides. On the other hand, the analemna walls, which are outside the platform from the north and south directions, go deeper and rise on a euthynteria (fig. 7).

10 The clamp traces determined on a single ground flooring in the east of the temple seem to be connected with later applications.

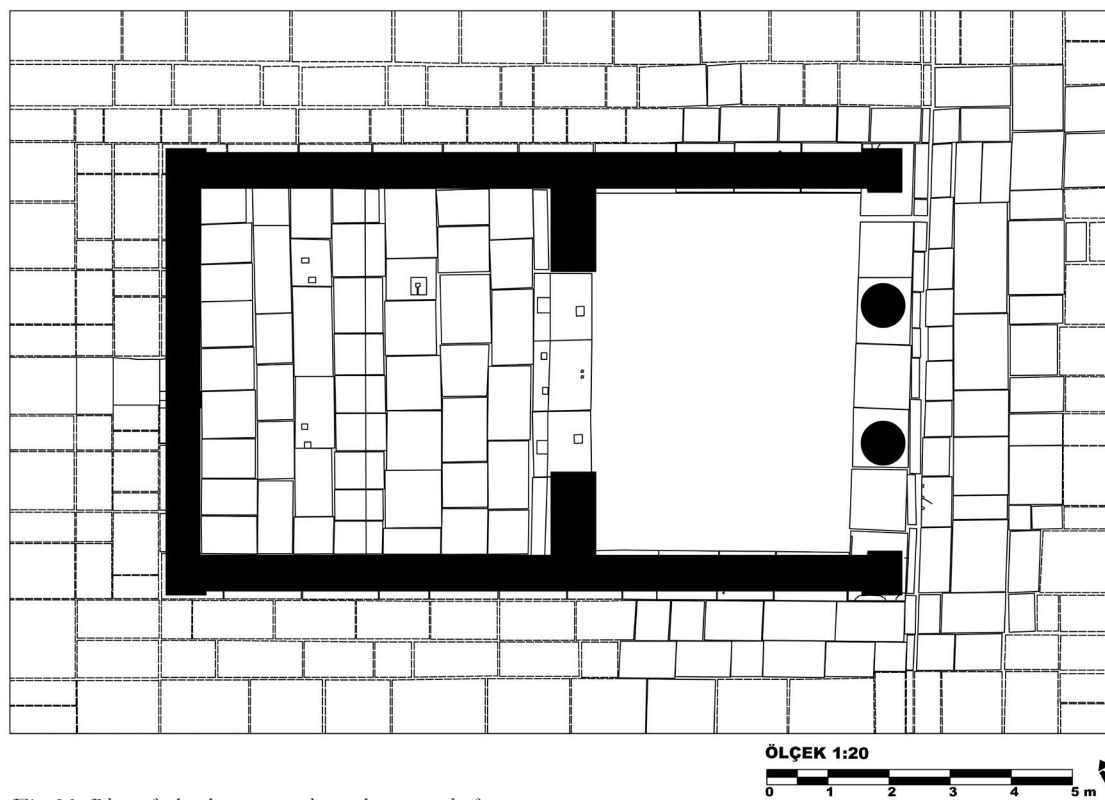


Fig. 23: Plan of the theater temple on the stone platform



Fig. 24: The stone platform under the ground blocks of the temple

As a result of the detailed examinations conducted, the temple was understood to be placed almost at the exact middle of this platform (fig. 23). Only, the front of the facade arrangement in the east direction was kept a little longer. An equal distance of 2,40 m in width was held between the north and south walls of the temple and the podium border. However, in later periods, this space was filled and the cavea seating rows were extended to the side walls of the temple. In the meantime, the 2,60 m long podium area on the west side of the temple was completed and closed to form a continuation of the seating rows.

As a result of the soundings made at two different points of the platform upon which the temple was located, it was understood that the temple and the platform were designed and built at the same time. In the first sounding opened along the platform end point and the analemma wall, in the south direction of the east anta of the temple, it was observed that the floor blocks bounding the platform were approximately 40 cm high, and rose on a blockade made of small rubble stones at the bottom. Any stereobate arrangement or euthynteria blocks providing descent to the arched entrance level placed in the analemma wall on the side were not encountered. The second sounding was opened just to the east of the temple. This sounding showed that the height of the floor blocks decreased to around 33 cm in the interiors and that there was no other architectural flooring under the ground flooring. The texture detected in the sounding in the east direction coincides with the natural structure reached during the soundings later opened in the pronaos. Thus, it became certain that the arched entrances in the western analemma wall and the temple podium belonging to the Hellenistic Period building phase of the theater were built at different time periods.

### *Dating*

In the first building phase of the temple, the pronaos and naos floors were kept at the same level. It was on the other hand observed that the interior of the naos in the later periods was covered with similar conglomerate stone blocks and that the level of this area was raised (figs. 4. 7). The arrangement of the area as a slope filling and the occurrence of a collapse on the entire platform floor over time must have been effective in this<sup>11</sup>. Although not certain, it is thought that the pronaos floor blocks were also dismantled at that time, and the floor level was thus pulled down further. The fact that the height of the blocks around 33 cm used to raise the naos floor was the same as the height of the platform floor stone strengthens the possibility that the blocks dismantled from the pronaos were laid in the naos. In addition, the non-symmetrical measures of the pronaos space is also an evidence that the floor stones were later dismantled. In the meantime, the floor of the pronaos section was left as soil filling. The fact that no stone flooring was encountered during the excavations and that the building blocks in a ruined state were also recovered on the pronaos floor indicate that this area was covered by a wooden flooring.

During the Hellenistic Period building phase of the Tlos Theater, a fairly large diazoma must have been placed in the area where the summa cavea was located. The transition to this diazoma was also provided by the arched entrances on the west analemma wall of the theater (fig. 1). The theater temple and the podium arrangement at the bottom were afterwards built on this diazoma area. With this new structuring, the first phase of the summa cavea was created. However, it is not easy to answer the question of whether there was a temple there before the first century B.C. or not. This, because no data belonging the architectural arrangement of a possible earlier building has survived to the present day.

In the last quarter of the first century B.C., the theater at Tlos underwent a major repair and was nearly rebuilt. On the analemma wall at the north entrance of the theater, the names of those who helped in the repair of the theater were carved on three different statue bases<sup>12</sup>.

11 The naos floor that has survived to the present day is also in a collapsed condition towards the middle.

12 The bases in question belong to the Classical Period and were brought here during the repair of the theater. For the

inscriptions recording assistance on these bases, see: TAM II 550–551. For the reinterpretation of these inscriptions, see also Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 97–100.

During this repair phase of the theater, a new arrangement was also resorted to for the upper diazoma. Meanwhile, the number of seating rows in the summa cavea was increased, and they were almost joined with the analemma wall in the west.

It is known that this great change that occurred in the architectural arrangement of the theater at Tlos took place in the last quarter of the first century B.C., during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, the Doric temple and the podium arrangement which were placed right in the middle of the summa cavea must have been built during this period. This early history of the theater temple is also supported by the epigraphic finds recovered in the area. For example, a votive inscription found to have been used on the outer wall in the west direction of the temple is dated to the first century B.C. (figs. 25a. b). In this inscription<sup>14</sup>, there is the statement »Aithon, the son of Polemon of Tlos, dedicated a golden garland to Apollo and the great god, while he was gymnasiarch and agonothet«. Due to the fact that the height of the two separate blocks on which the inscription was carved was 42 cm, it was understood that these inscribed blocks was used at the level of the fourth or the immediately subsequent row of walls.

Although the architectural flooring of the Tlos Theater carries the characteristics of the Early Roman Period, it has been documented from different archaeological and epigraphic data that the building was first built in the Hellenistic Period and was used continuously until late antiquity with modifications and repairs<sup>15</sup>. The horseshoe-like form of the theater cavea leaning against the hillside and the workmanship on the ground floor of the proskene arrangement stand out as traces belonging to the Hellenistic Period tradition. In addition, the base, which stands *in situ* just in front of the northern analemma of the stage building and is associated with the Ptolemaic emperor cult, is connected with the building process of the theater before the Roman Period. Especially the practices and ceremonies of the Hellenistic Period emperor cults are known to be linked with the theaters. That is why this monument was erected at a point very close to the theater.

There are much data including also the changes in different phases in relation to the Roman Period uses of the theater. Among those, in the inscription<sup>16</sup> recovered at the entrance of the south parodos, and narrating the aid the philanthropist Opramoas from Rhodiapolis provided to the city after the 141 A.D. earthquake, it was reported that 60.000 silver denars were donated to the construction of the theater. Whereas on a large inscribed plate that has survived from the stage building, it was emphasized that the citizen of Tlos, Titus Marcus Titianus Deioterianus, raised the proskenion from its foundation and dedicated the building to the God Cronus as well as to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his children<sup>17</sup>. Among the finds that show parallelism with the history of the inscription in question can be listed the statues belonging to scaenae frons, the frieze with garlands, and the statue bases with inscriptions associated with the Cronus agons adorning the postscene facade<sup>18</sup>. As it can be understood from this inscription dated to the third quarter of the second century A.D., the theater building underwent its greatest change during this period.

There exist no architectural data indicating that the temple of the theater was repaired in the reign of Antoninus Pius. On the contrary, the architectural flooring of the temple that has survived to the present day is dated to the first century B.C. Nonetheless, there are also written documents showing that the temple continued to be used also during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Among the written documents mentioned, the dice divination inscriptions recovered during the excavations are of great importance (fig. 26). Of the oracular dice inscriptions that were found to have been carved on three different blocks on the south-east outer wall of the temple, only a total of 21 divination passages have managed to survive to the present day<sup>19</sup>. Similar inscriptions, given in total in 56 passages, spread widely in date between the middle of the second century A.D. and the beginning of the third century A.D., especially in the southern regions of Anatolia<sup>20</sup>. Gods such as Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, Hephaestus, Ares, Demeter, Poseidon and Hermes are frequently mentioned in such oracular dice inscriptions.

13 It was clearly stated in this repair inscription that this major repair phase of the theater took place during the reign of the Emperor Augustus.

14 Αἶθων Πολέμωνος ἀστικός/ γυμνασιάρχης καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσας/ ἀνέθηκεν τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον/ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ.

15 Korkut – Özdemir 2019, 804–805; Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 97–100.

16 The inscription of Opramoas was carved on a statue base erected in the first diazoma of the theater. It was observed

that this base fell down in later periods, presumably from subsequent seismic activity. For the evaluation of the inscription in the light of the newly found fragments, see. Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 100–104.

17 Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 98–100.

18 Korkut – Özdemir 2019, 823, fig. 16–17.

19 The inscriptions unearthed during the theater temple excavations are at the publication stage.

20 For the oracular dice inscriptions in Anatolia, see Nolle 1987; Nolle 2007.





Fig. 25a. b: The votive inscriptions of theater temple

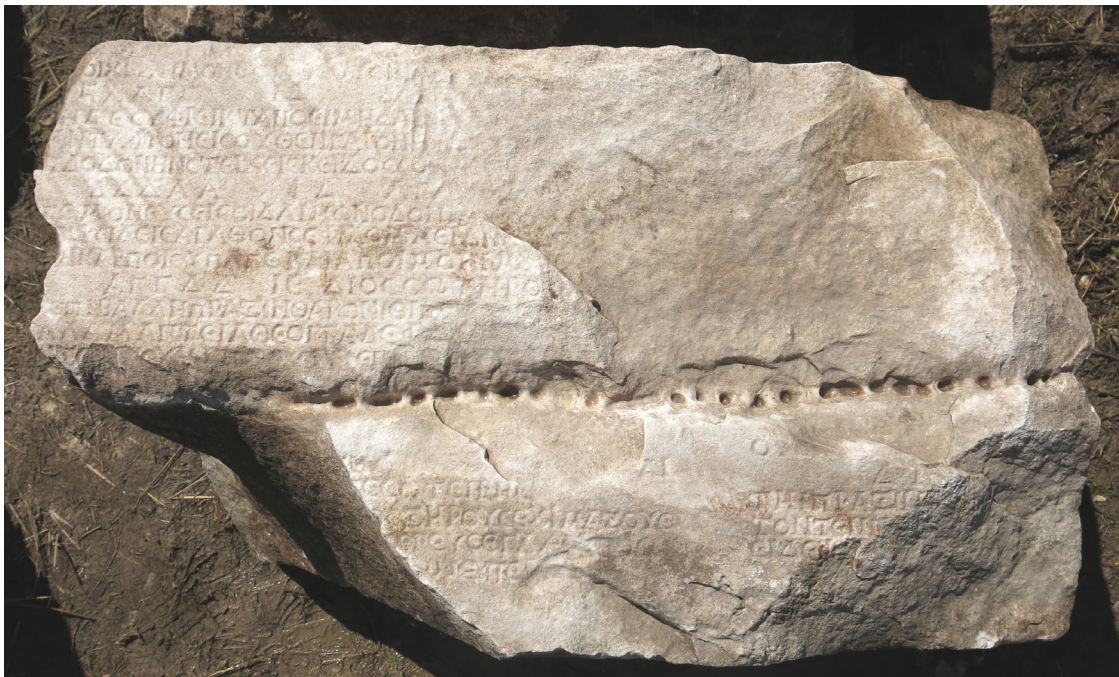


Fig. 26: The oracular dice inscription

Besides, gods such as Zeus, Hermes, Athena, Apollo were also commemorated with different epithets. As a rule, these oracular passages begin with Zeus Olympus and end with Hermes Tetragonos. The inscriptions recovered in the Tlos Theater Temple, on the other hand, consist of divinations between Poseidon given in the fourteenth passage and the child-eating Cronus in the fiftieth passage. The other parts of the inscription thought to have been carved on three separate blocks were ruined.

It is known that the summa cavea was further enlarged and rearranged during the building activities conducted in the theater at Tlos during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Meanwhile, the analemma wall in the north of the temple was repaired using spolia material, and the arched entrances opening to the diazoma from the west direction were removed. In addition, a space was gained for the seating rows by filling the interior of the analemma wall, and the diazoma was narrowed and pulled even higher. Entrance to the topmost diazoma was provided via a ramp with stairs from the outside.

A similar arrangement is known to have been made in the section remaining in the south of the temple. However, the diazoma in this section was kept wider and arranged as a wooden podium with a portico<sup>21</sup>.

21 Numerous column bodies, pedestals and Corinthian capitals recovered in this area support this opinion. In addition, wooden

beam holes were opened in the blocks in the last row of the analemma wall.

Whereas enclosed spaces were created in the lower sections of the podium. The entrance to these spaces were provided by the two arched openings existing in the west analemma wall of the theater<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, a ramp with stairs was installed in the area where the seating rows were located in the south half of the summa cavea, as in the northern direction, for the purpose of entering from the outside. During the enlargement of the summa cavea, the analemma walls, as well as the seating rows were joined from the north and south directions almost with the walls of the temple on the long sides. In addition, four rows of seating were placed on the podium arrangement to the west of the temple. Other than these, the process of dismantling the pronaos floor blocks and raising the naos floor with a new block flooring must have taken place during this period.

Epigraphic finds recovered during the excavations performed in the Tlos Theater showed that the theater, which was first built in the Hellenistic Period in connection with the urbanistic development of the city, underwent a major repair in the second half of the first century B.C., and meanwhile a separate temple was also placed almost in the middle of the second cavea was enlarged. It has been observed that the characteristics reflecting the periodic developments of the architectural finds of the temple structure, and the stylistic building details coincide with this dating. First of all, the podium arrangement, a characteristic feature of the temples of the Roman Period, along with the tradition of emphasizing the front facade with high stairs are not seen in the theater temple of Tlos<sup>23</sup>. In this respect, it can be said that the temple of the theater is in the tradition of the Hellenistic Period. Besides, although the temple is in the Doric order, yet the tradition of ionic fluted columns proceeds there. Since the first century A.D., the ionic fluted Doric columns have not been much preferred. The tradition of keeping the measures of entablature blocks such as the triglyph-metop and architrave high is also a characteristic of the Hellenistic Period<sup>24</sup>.

The length of the metope in the theater temple is around one and a half times that of the triglyphs. It is known that from the Early Roman Period onwards, the triglyph area expanded whereas the metopes narrowed<sup>25</sup>. The widths of the triglyph and the metope were nearly equalized in the first century A.D. On the other hand, starting the glyphs quite below the taenia and giving them in the form without ears is a practice encountered at the end of the Hellenistic Period.

In addition to the architectural tradition specific to the Hellenistic Period observed in the temple, there are also some innovations that are known to have become widespread since the Augustan Period. For example, since the Augustan Period giving the taenia section on the architrave blocks in the inclined form has been seen frequently. It is also the commonly preferred practice in this period that the regula blocks were not included in the architraves and that the guttae were dangled directly on the taenia<sup>26</sup>. Additionally, creating the guttae hanging from the taenia in half-round form is the harbinger of a new period<sup>27</sup>.

Similar temporal features are observed in the arrangements on the geison blocks. For example, the trend of not carving the mutulus plates located on the lower surface of the geisons and dangling the guttae directly from the lower surface of the geison emerged with the Augustan Period. It was also during this period that the reduction of the slope of the mutuli to a minimum level became apparent<sup>28</sup>. It is the tradition of the Hellenistic Period to apply the tight-row guttae and guttus to the edges<sup>29</sup>. However, the fact that the mutuli were given as a superficial relief and the distance between the guttae was half their diameter emerged as an innovation. In addition, the drip grooves in the geisons started to be carved in a »V« shape in this new period. Although keeping the viae widths equal and giving the mutuli in the rate of 1:4 was an old practice, known since the Classical Period<sup>30</sup>, it is known that they were repeated in the Augustan Period.

22 These arched openings indicate that the analemma wall was preserved in its original form for quite some time up to the level of the arch.

23 The Cronus temple in Tlos, in the form of templum in-antis, dated to the beginning of the first century A.D., carries the exact characteristics of the Roman temple, see Uygun 2018, 511–529.

24 For Doric architecture in Anatolia in the Hellenistic Period see Gider-Büyükozer 2021, 285–307.

25 Gider-Büyükozer 2018, 64.

26 For example, the regula was not used on the architrave blocks in the proskene of the Ephesus theater dated to the second

half of the first century B.C., and the guttae were given directly hanging to the horizontal moulding. A similar arrangement is encountered in the Sagalassos Doric fountain, as well as the temple of Apollo in Hierapolis. For the temple of Apollo in Hierapolis, see Ismaelli 2017.

27 The Doric fountain in the ancient city of Sagalassos, dating to 25 B.C., is one of the earliest representatives of this tradition, see Waelkens 1993, 43–86.

28 Gider-Büyükozer 2018, 66.

29 Gider-Büyükozer 2018, 72.

30 Gider-Büyükozer 2018, 74.

Since the Doric column capitals of the Tlos Theater Temple were not recovered, the capital typology could not be utilized for dating. However, two square-shaped examples of the corner pilaster capitals on the east and west directions of the temple have survived intact to the present day. The profiles of these pilaster capitals comprise the ovolo and cavetto. On the other hand, there exists an abacus at the upper end of the capital. The ovolo profile was bounded by a fascia from below, yet the cavetto ended directly under the abacus. A complementary fascia was not placed between the two. The pilaster capitals containing similar profile arrangements are known from the Aphrodisias Theater, Sagalassos Doric Fountain, Sura Apollo Temple and the Letoon Theater West Gate, which are dated to the second half of the first century B.C.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the typological development in the ancient architectural flooring, the stylistic features of the architectural decoration are also decisive in dating. However, the architectural decoration in the Tlos Theater Temple is almost nonexistent. Architectural decorations comprise only of the leaf rosettes on the corner plaster capitals and one each closed palmette motifs on the pediment corner joints of the mutuli on the geison blocks. Although it is difficult to make a comprehensive chronological evaluation from such a limited number of these motifs, giving the thick and fleshy leaves from the surface in the protruded form and the carving of their upper surfaces by indenting, reminds of the Late Hellenistic Period style. A similar situation is also seen in the carving of lion heads on the gargoyles. Stylistically very similar gargoyles looks like they came from the hands of the same craftsman in this respect. The pathos expression of the Hellenistic Period prevails on the faces of the lions. Very dynamic facial features are the most prominent manifestation of this situation. The curls of hair opening outward in the form of a circle were idealized by braiding as if they were repetition of each other. The gap between the curls, which can be followed in the finest detail from the starting point to the end, was separated slightly by carving.

Archaeological finds of different categories recovered during the temple excavations, were not used for a precise dating, since they were moved down to this area due to the effect of erosion in later periods.

The ceramics recovered from the temple area are dated from the Classical Period until the Late Roman Period. During the excavation works, 12 coins, including 11 bronze and one silver, dated to the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods were also found.

Since both theaters and temples are sacral structures utilized towards both gathering and worshipping, there is an association in both building and planning since the Hellenistic Period. However, the association of the theater and temple appears in different forms. In the Hellenistic Period examples, temples and theaters were mostly designed as independent structures. The Pergamon theater temple is one of the best examples describing this situation<sup>32</sup>. This tradition was continued in the Roman Period as well. For example, the theater temple built in Stratonikeia<sup>33</sup> and Pessinus<sup>34</sup> during the Early Roman Period located far from the second cavea. However, the association of these temples directed towards to the theater with the theater was documented. On the contrary, it is seen that some theaters and temples have been nested together since Early Roman Period. Pompey's Theater in Rome is one of the pioneers of this new understanding<sup>35</sup>. Nevertheless, this new planning was not preferred very much in Anatolia. For this reason, very few temples having organic ties with the theaters in Anatolia have survived to the present day. The Patara Theater is one of the representatives of this new tradition. However, the temple, which was designed as a small naiskos at Patara, was attached to the analemma wall from the outside of the upper cavea<sup>36</sup>. The Tlos Theater Temple, on the other hand, has a distinct place and significance within this new tradition. The naos section of the Tlos anta temple remained entirely inside the summa cavea. Besides, the integrity was not disrupted by the fact that the pronaos separated from the level of the analemma wall was on the temple podium in the summa cavea. Unlike the theater, only the direction of the temple faces east, which is a technical arrangement that is completely connected with the topography. A special gathering place must have been created on the plain in the east direction of the temple. There is a ceremonial road arrangement from the galleries on the north and south directions of the theater to this area.

31 Gider-Büyükközer 2020, 141–143.

32 Maischberger 2012, 243–247.

33 Mert 2002, 187–203; Söğüt 2019, 49–52.

34 Waelkens 1986, 38–39.

35 Packer – Burge – Gagliardo 2007, 506 fig. 1; Pappalardo 2007, 58–59.

36 Piesker 2012, 185–192.

### *Conclusion*

Although the cults served by theater temples differ, it is known that theaters were also used for the ruler cults, which have been a part of city life since the Hellenistic Period. Whereas since the Early Roman Period, theater temples have been associated with the imperial cult. Of the Tlos Theater, both the sculptures depicting the members of the Antonine Dynasty in the scaenae frons niches and the inscription located on the central gate of the scaenae frons, indicating that the building was dedicated to Antoninus Pius and his children are important evidences of the connection of the theater temple with the imperial cult<sup>37</sup>. In the inscription in question, the theater was additionally dedicated to the Great God Cronus by Titus Marcus Titianus Deiotarianus. Cronus, who was the guardian god of the city during the Roman Period, replaced the Lycian Sky God Trqqas in Tlos. Hence, a temple was built in Tlos for the god Cronus in the last quarter of the first century B.C. In addition, Croneia festivals were also organized annually in Tlos by the Lycian League<sup>38</sup>. It is clear that the character described as the »Great God« in the inscription recovered during the temple excavations and which is understood to belong to the building phase of the theater temple from the first century B.C., is the god Cronus, as emphasized in the building inscription from reign of Antoninus Pius. Thus, it becomes certain that the theater temple was dedicated to the god Cronus, in addition to Apollo, whose name is emphasized in the inscription from the first construction phase. The oracular dice inscriptions recovered in the southeast direction of the temple dated to the third quarter of the second century A.D. also indicate that the Tlos Theater Temple was most probably employed as a divination center for a long time.

### ADDRESSES OF THE AUTHORS

Prof. Dr. Taner Korkut  
Akdeniz Üniversitesi  
Edebiyat Fakültesi  
Arkeoloji Bölümü  
Antalya/ Turkey  
E-mail: tkorkut@akdeniz.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çilem Uygun  
Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi  
Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi  
Arkeoloji Bölümü  
Hatay/ Turkey  
E-mail: cilemuygun@mku.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bilsen Özdemir  
Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi  
Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi  
Arkeoloji Bölümü  
Nevşehir/ Turkey  
E-mail: bilsenozdemir@nevsehir.edu.tr

### FIGURE CREDITS:

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37 For inscription, see Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 98–100.

38 For the cult and temple of Cronus in Tlos, see Uygun 2018.

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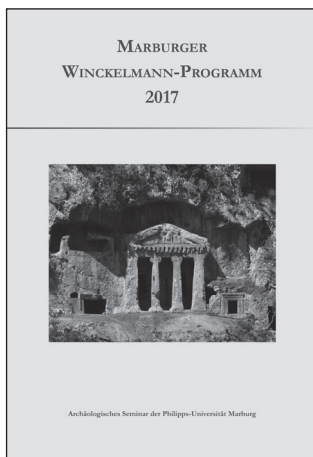
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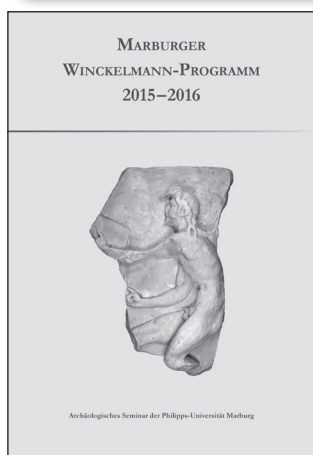
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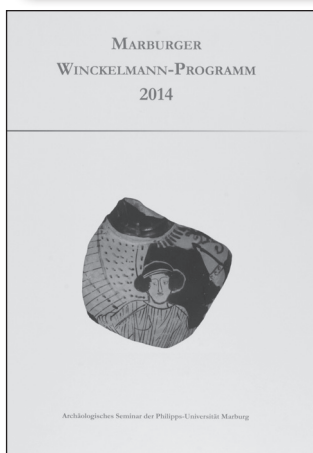
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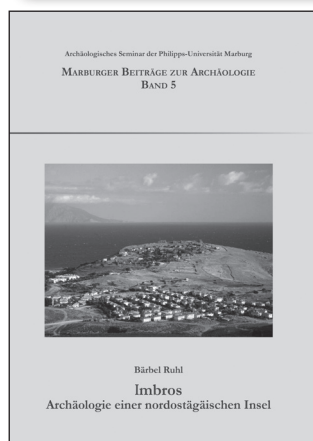
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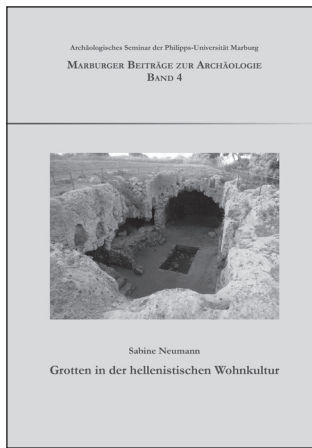
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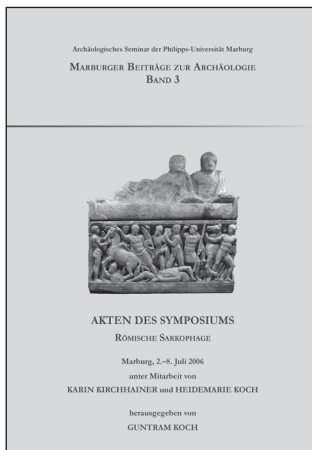
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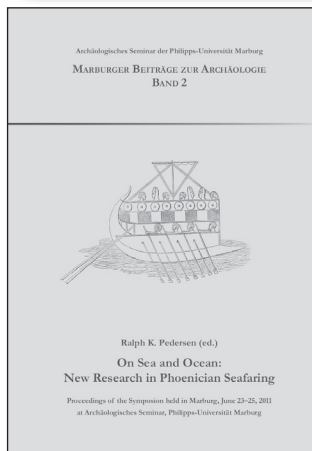
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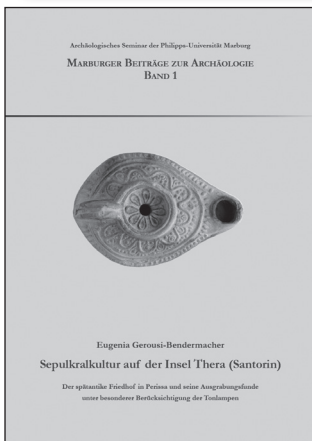
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